is contained in the jumping legs of the grasshopper. A girl who is supposed to be alienated from her lover is asked -- as often happens without harm in daily life -- to pulverize a heap of dried buchu herbs. A grasshopper leg has been secretly crumbled up between the leaves. When the girl has finished and rubs her hands that are dusty from the buchu powder in her armpits as is customary to get them clean, she unknowingly rubs in that magic potion that kills her love. In other cases the grasshopper's legs are packed deep down in the bone pipe. The pipe then makes the usual rounds and when it has been ascertained that the loving pair got some of the leg pieces to smoke, then the magic is considered a success. I also knew a case where the parents of the girl consulted a professional magician, who smeared a little stick with the contents of his poison box (see Medicine, page 226), broke the stick and threw the pieces away with the words: "/ã/gu hã kʇoēra gye nĩ /go/ra," i.e. "the two who love each other are to separate."

Before the whites became a dominant factor and destroyed the old customs, love outside of marriage was punished. Old Hottentots, who observe with misgivings present day actions, have told me that on numerous occasions, independently of each other. The guilty ones were either both thrashed with the approval of the parents or the girl's share of the punishment was transferred to the boy. The punishment was carried out at the direction of the sub-captain; in other words it was an act of public morality.

The parents of the young man undertake the wooing. Etiquette requires a rejection of the offer, much discussing back and forth and finally acceding to the request. The man is not supposed to think that they were waiting for him.

The wedding is celebrated with much slaughtering. The bridegroom or his parents must supply the festival roast (cf. folk tale XXXIV). But sometimes both families participate in the wedding slaughter, !gũ/ʔās. Poor people sometimes trade their only milch cow for one that can be slaughtered in order to fulfill their wedding obligations.

On the wedding day the young man and the young woman each give their respective mothers-in-law a cow, abago/mas, in remembrance of the time when they carried the boy or girl as a baby in aba skin (see below). And because they nursed them at the breast, that wedding cow is also called ǂsamago/mas. The term kʇā/go/mas, [299] which I heard more rarely, means that something is returned (= kʇā/) to the mothers to which they are entitled. The present is supposed to compensate the mothers for the loss of their children.

This characteristic is also clearly revealed in a kind of love token giving for which there is no designation in German and which is therefore best called by its native name *soregus. This is introduced by drinking a toast. With the words: "ũ soreb" or [319] "sore //gams," i.e. "this is sorewater," a drink is handed to the chosen one (male or female) from which the giver has first taken a sip. A boy who entered into a closer relationship to an old Hottentot in this fashion, received a horse and several sheep and goats as presents. He survived his benefactor, but still feels obligated to make a present to the man's children -- twenty years may have passed in the meantime -- even though no one could force him to do this. Women also enter into this kind of relationship with each other. Without asking for a return favor, a woman presented her favorite, a little girl, several goats. Years later she received a sack of coffee in return. Characteristic for the sore relationship is the fact that there is no legal protection as would apply in trading but that it is based on mutual trust. A review of the driving forces behind this giving never gave me reason to assume that avarice was involved. The joy of giving, a characteristic of the people, is in any case one of the main springs of the sore custom. Whether that was the original one or whether sexual attraction has always been involved (see below) I do not dare to decide.

2. Sexual Relations

Sexual relations among the Hottentots are no longer regulated as formerly in the interest of the tribal community by ethical rules. Except for those families that hold faithfully to the teachings of the mission, no one is shocked by even the freest relationships. Formerly ethical strictness was also found among the Hottentots. Eye-witnesses of the times thirty to forty years ago report that a girl who had sinned was whipped by her parents with straps in the presence of the guilty man and that the man was then given the same punishment in the presence of the girl. Another girl got the same treatment when the women who were massaging her found striated marks on her of an old, secret pregnancy. Today the Hottentot mothers think differently. The morals of married people are not any better. The sore relationship mentioned above, although in most cases completely honorable, can also mean a concealed agreement to an intimate relationship outside of wedlock.

Magic sometimes stands in the service of lechery. /na/m/na/m means enchanting to secure someone's love. The mouthpiece of a pipe [320] is secretly smeared with the contents of the medicine box. The man smokes

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

formerly a ewe was specially slaughtered for the occasion. This cooking is the first done on the fire since the girl entered the *kharu oms*. The *aba tarás* must hold her hand as she takes the pot, and aid her with everything she does. Soot from the pot is put on her forehead, and together the old woman and she eat a piece of meat prepared apart from the rest. So she is made free to cook and prepare a meal once more.[1] Then the *aba tarás* takes the fire, ashes and all, and dumps it far from the hut. She next sprinkles fresh sand on the hearth, and lays a new fire, which must not be lit from another, as is usually done when a fire goes out, but with flint or matches; originally no doubt the firesticks would have been used. The fire thus lit is no longer */nau*.

The girl is now ready to receive visitors as an *oaxais*, a young marriageable woman. All her relatives and friends pour in, each with some present of beads, or earrings, or other finery. A great deal of this is only lent, and is returned later. The girl shines with clean, well-greased skin, she is scented all over with the *buchu* she and her friends have ground, her face is painted in various curious patterns with red and white mineral powder mixed with fat, and her body is loaded with the presents. Then the young boys, even up to sixteen years of age and more, come into the hut from which they have hitherto been excluded, and go up to the newly-made *oaxais*. She takes her "powder-puff" full of *buchu*, and with it rubs each of them on his testicles. This ensures fertility and is a protection against sexual diseases. This particular rite seems to be dying out, and nowadays is accounted for by the saying that until the boys have been rubbed in this way it is too dangerous for them to eat any of the meat prepared for the girl. In consequence the younger boys especially go in eagerly, so that they may join in the feast!

The feasting reaches its climax this day. Female animals, both ewes and heifers, are killed, cooked, and eaten, and everybody, men and women, boys and girls alike, joins in this "feast of rejoicing". Hahn states that when the relatives appear for this final feast, the girl's nearest male relative (usually the eldest unmarried cousin) takes the fat of one of the heifers, hangs it over her head, and wishes that she

[1] The description of this part of the ceremony is taken from the version given by Mrs. Hoernlé in her more recent account ("Social Value of Water," 524). In the earlier version ("Conception of Issa," 72), she says that the cleansing of the girl and the change of clothing is made in front of the */nau* fire, i.e. in the outer hut, and goes on to say: "Meanwhile, a ewe has been slaughtered, and one of the hind legs is given to the *aba tarás*. This she must now cook on the fire in the house. . . When the meat is cooked, it is eaten by the *aba tarás* and other women who, like her, are past childbearing. No one else touches it."

3: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

house is free so that anyone can come in"). The girl is now ready to receive visits as an ǂaxais, that is, a young marriageable woman. All her relatives and friends pour in, each one with some present of beads, or earrings, or other finery. A great deal of this is loaned only and is returned later. The girl shines with clean, well-greased skin. She is scented all over with the sáp which she and her girl friends have ground. Her face is painted in curious patterns with !naop and /qunaab ("ground white stone"), and her body is loaded with her presents. Then it is that the little boys, even up to sixteen years and more,[16] come into the hut from which they have up to now been excluded, and go in to the newly made ǂaxais. She takes her /túros ǂnus ("powder puff") full of sáp and rubs their testicles (ǂkurǂn). This ensures fertility and is a protection against sexual disease. The full expression for this custom is /túros ǂnus /a /nara ("to rub gently with a powder puff"). Nowadays the saying is that until the boys have been rubbed, it is too dangerous for them to eat any of the meat prepared for the girl, and the younger ones especially go eagerly in, so that they may join in the feast. Some of the youths, according to Hannah, prefer to go without the meat, and none of my witnesses had ever seen grown-up men take part. It looks as though the custom were gradually dying out.

The feasting reaches its climax on this day. Female animals, both ewes and heifers, are killed, cooked, and eaten. It is interesting to note that the goat is never used in these ceremonial meals, if it can possibly be avoided. This is probably due to the fact that originally the Hottentots owned no goats, and only acquired them quite late from the Bantu tribes with whom they came in contact.

Towards evening the girl's friends enter the hut to fetch her out. She must leave the hut by the special door which has been made for her at the back.[17] Her friends surround her, and for a time try to keep her from the view of the youths, for she is very shy. The youths start the reed dance, and the girls dance round them with the ǂaxais in their midst. Gradually the youths get to the side of the girl and choose her as a partner, and in the end her shyness gives way. In these Hottentot dances the men form the inner ring, the women the outer one, and every now and then there is a change of partners somewhat like the English game of Jolly Miller. During the dancing the ǂaxais throws sáp over the men and boys as she sees them. This is supposed to bring good luck. The dancing lasts often right through the night, and when it is over, the final round of rites begins, reintroducing the girl to her daily tasks, freeing her, as it were, from the spell under which she has been living.

The abǂ tarís must accompany the ǂaxais in all these rites, but often her friends go

[16] According to T. Hahn, in olden days, all but extremely old men took part in this ceremony. Cf. also L. Schultze, Aus Namaland und Kalahari, Jena, 1907, p. 396.

[17] A corpse is also taken out by a special door made for the purpose at the back of the hut.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

The women live more sparingly; they are not allowed beef, nor fresh milk, but mutton occasionally. So much do they despise the women. 262 562

But gluttons as they are they are not without intelligence. Their minds are wonderfully powerful in remembering a kindness or an injury, fearless of danger, confident in themselves, and contented with their lot. Whether they are urged by dire poverty or blessed with a prosperous flock, they are always the same. But if one of the more distinguished should be living in want, they are touched by a slight feeling of pity (and in the setting of their enormous vices this virtue flashes like a jewel) and contribute a sheep or a calf to the man bereft of flocks and herds. When they have once formed an opinion they are very slow to change their minds. They do not covet gold or silver like other mortals; in truth the desire of riches exists only where they are in use; and ignorance of vice is often of more service among them than knowledge of virtue among other people. To sum up they afford a clear proof that even a mild climate can produce monstrous dispositions. 181 [431]

Among this savage and depraved people some are distinguished for shrewd and subtle understanding. I have spoken for instance with three Hottentot women: one, Aeva[34]), was a civil, modest body, of rational discourse, who, being pretty well acquainted with the Dutch and Portuguese tongues unfolded to me many secrets of her race; the second, Cornelia, having exchanged her impious ignorance of 159

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too, named Eva, long ago taken from the African brood in her tender childhood by the Hon: van Riebeeck, and educated in his house as well as brought to the knowledge of the Christian faith, and being thus transformed from a female Hottentoo almost into a Netherland woman, was married to a certain Chief Surgeon of this Residency, by whom she had three children still living, and some others which had died. Since his death however at Madagascar, she had brought forth as many illegitimate ones, and for the rest, led such an irregular life, that for a long while the desire would have existed of getting rid of her, had it not been for the hope of the conversion of this brutal aboriginal, which was always still hovering between. Hence in order not to be accused of tolerating her adulterous and debauched life, she had at various times been relegated to Robben Island, where, though she could obtain no drink, she abandoned herself to immorality. Pretended reformation induced the Authorities many times to call her back to the Cape, but as soon as she returned, she, like the dogs, always returned to her own vomit, so that finally she quenched the fire of her sensuality by death, affording a manifest example that nature, however closely and firmly moulded by imprinted principles, nevertheless at its own time triumphing over all precepts, again rushes back to its inborn qualities" (D., July 29, 1674). The entry for the following day tells us that "the body of the deceased Hottentoo, Eva, was, notwithstanding her unchristian life, buried to-day according to Christian usage in the church of the new Castle". 159

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

Note: Henceforth, explained *Iis* and *Mein*, she ceased to be a */ho:ɔ* and became an *oxnais*, until her marriage when she became a *tâ²ao* or wife. *Iis* added that they were too poor nowadays to keep up such an elaborate ritual, which sometimes lasted for months.

This ceremonial has been described extremely briefly for the Korana by Wuras (loc. cit.) For the Naman, see Schapera (op. cit. p. 272-279) who analyses all the previous accounts and gives his sources as usual. The fullest Nama description is that of Mrs. Hoernlé (*Harvard African Studies*, ii. pp. 70-74). Her account substantially agrees with the above text. It contains a full timing of the proceedings and lays stress on the festivities and other details. There is in both accounts the same symbolical return to the household duties and the same renewal of the initiate's contact with water after her long period of impurity and seclusion, as well as her inability to do the normal things of life, while she is cut off from her fellow creatures. Likewise the sacramental meal is restricted to women and only to women who are free from their periods.

The *sâb* spoken of in the Korana text is a sweet-smelling powder. *Khois* brought me some and she and *Iis* separated its constituent elements. They are as follows: (i) */kaep;* (ii) */ui sâb*, a green lichen growing on stones; (iii) */karrê*, "veld biesies," roots only; (iv) */ku !kâb;* (v) */gwabeb* grows in vleis, only found at Warrenton on the Vaal in winter; and lastly the */kunabab* root, of the colour of the earth, and reduced to small pieces. The mixture must smell sweet (*/gâi kaw*). The women use it not only as described above, but also on their armpits and to rub babies with.

It might be well to add the few words I have collected about their marriage. No more elaborate ceremonies now exist. In former times, twenty oxen, they said, were killed for the festivities, which were accompanied by the *gâuâi* and dancing. The *abe gomas* was given to the mother of the bride by the bridegroom and the young bride was welcomed with more festivities and dancing into the bridegroom's kraal. When a child was born a */naes /ho:ɔa gomab*, "an ox for the newborn children" was given to the mother, if a boy was born. If a girl, a cow was given, */naes /ho:ɔa gomas*.

The life history of *Iis*

gei /kaab karib !aa Iis hje !khaab ka²ai !nae ka. ihje !kaab kaa ka²omina !go ka²ai. //aa: //kar, ka²omina /karakaa xu dia ka. ihje /karakaa /kâb xu dia, ihje tarakhoudi /garib !aa /kâkaa di /kaa /kaa.

14:Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

The most costly present lovers could lavish on each other was buχu, and these sweet aromatic herbs of a certain Diosma were also sprinkled on those cairns which still are objects of worship, and where they assembled to offer prayers to the deceased or to the Supreme Being Tsûi|goab. We know that in the earliest times a large trade was carried on (|hamab, trade, |hamagu, to trade, to exchange, to barter), not only with pottery, dishes, spears, and knives, but chiefly with Buχu. And the leaves of the *Diosma* growing on the Khamies Bergen, the Lange Zwarte Bergen (‡Nu-|khara, a name still remembered by the old men of the |Amas tribe), and of the |Khomab Mountains in Great Namaqualand, and of ‡Nu-|hous opposite Sandwich harbour, were known all over the Khoikhoi territory.

That the eyes of the ancient Khoikhoi were early directed towards the sky, we shall see from a myth in the following chapter. The stars too were an early object of contemplation to them, as is evident from the number of names for the stars. Certain it is that the |*Kâ̂aseti* (|Khunuseti) or Pleiades, the Belt of Orion or |goweya the Zebras, *a* Orionis χ*aesi*, the Lion, *a* Tauri (Aldebaran) *aob*, the husband, were known to all the Khoikhoi before the separation. There was a star-mythology, and things in the blue vault went on in the same way as here on earth.

The ancient Khoikhoi were a brave and warlike people, and it characterises their wars that women and children were spared. *War* was *tarob*, from *taro*, to *bore*, to *perforate*; thus war means the perforator. Bravery was highly admired, and girls used to meet the victorious heroes (|gari-b, |gob, |i-aob) who returned to the kraals laden with booty, singing their praise. Such heroes had then to undergo a ceremony. The priest or |gaiaob cut certain marks on the chest of the brave man with a flint stone, and he received then on such an occasion a cognomen as Xama-|gamteb, Lion-killer, |Otsitamab, The One who cannot die, Aogu|ôb, Destroyer of heroes, &c. Names of places

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

881 river, among the Gei |Khauas at |Nuis, and among the |Ōgeis, on the banks of the |Kham river. I am, however, assured that even young converts, if they have become of age, absent themselves to outlying places away from the mission stations, to have their bodies washed by the waters of the thunder-clouds.

843 261 27. Also, if a woman during her pregnancy eats of the meat of the lion or leopard, her child will have the characteristics of these animals—ferocity, celerity, swiftness, and strength. They also consider the drinking of lion and panther blood as having influence on the nature of a person or on the child in the mother's womb. A woman lost her temper, and was very cruel to her slave. I spoke to her, and asked whether she did not, as a mistress (lady, geitaras), feel ashamed of herself. She said, she could not help it; I must scold her mother, who once drank panther blood in order to get ferocious children.

626 431 28. A great influence is also attached to the power of an imprecation or curse. If one had a quarrel with a Khoikhoi, there is nothing more painful to him than not to be talked to. He will come repeatedly and apologize, until he hears the word "|ûtago," I have forgiven; and to show his gratitude, he will bring a present—be it a sheep or a cow or whatsoever he may afford to give.

I once had a very unpleasant quarrel with a Namaqua; perhaps he was more in fun, and it was a misunderstanding on my side. Anyhow, I got vexed, and said: "I shall never forget what you have done, and mind what you are about. I will have my day, too; do not think that, because I am the only white man here, that you will get the best of me!" He laughed, and thought that I was in fun. I, however, left. A year after he met me on the road in another part of the country; and when he saw that I greeted his friends but did not notice him, he at once borrowed from one of his mates a cow, and said to me: "Take this, and forgive me; but don't be angry any further—I can't bear it." I accepted his apology, and told him to keep the cow. But

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

he insisted upon my accepting it; because he believed that, as long as I refused to accept his cow, I had not forgiven him. I afterwards made him a present of ammunition, and, as anxious as a Nama is to possess that most precious material, he said: "No; you want to pay my cow, and I shall not accept it."

My father was missionary of the Rhenish Mission Society in Bethany, Great Namaqualand. The year 1848 was a very lucky year; the desert was a flower-garden, and honey was brought by waggon-loads to the station; but honey-beer (ǂkharis) was also made in immense quantities, and the new converts very soon had too much of a good thing. The following Sunday my father expressed his indignation at their drunkenness, and said: "I wish, after you have made such bad use of what the heavenly Father has given you to enjoy moderately, that He never again will give you a year so rich in honey!" Strange enough, up to this date there has never again been an abundance of honey. When, a few years ago, I asked the old chief, ǂNaiχab of Bethany, quite accidentally, if he could get me some honey, he answered: "What, you ask me for honey? and your father has cursed the bees not to make honey. Tell him, at first, to take back his curse and you will again eat honey."

29. The eclipse of the moon is always considered a bad omen. Hunting parties, or an expedition of war, will certainly return home, and they say, "ǁGaunabi ge dahe hã," we are overpowered by ǁGauna. They commence to cry aloud, and say, "torob ni ha, ǁõ ge ni," war is approaching, we are going to die. The same is said at the appearance of the Aurora australis, or if the awful tail of a comet is seen in the blue vault.

There are some superstitions of a very recent date, which show that the mythological power is still alive.

30. If the cold westerly sea breeze (huri-ǂoab) is blowing,